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The farmers don't get it

U. S. busts at seams with surplus foods but you get rooked

By Lawrence Emery

"IS all that gold we hear about really in those vaults at Fort Knox?" Rep. Carroll D. Kearns (R-Pa.) demanded to know in Congress the other day. He introduced a resolution to have it looked into.

Whether or not the stories turn out to be true about the tooth-filling metal taken out of holes around the world and put in the Kentucky hole, one thing is sure: food—the stuff you eat—is bursting the seams of every place the government can find to store it. And while housewives can't afford to buy all they need, and most farmers are hardly breaking even, the "surpluses" are still piling up.

LOOK BUT DON'T TOUCH: In the Hudson River 36 vessels of an unused reserve fleet are loaded deep with grain.

Through the midwest corn belt some 2,300 curved-roofed quonset huts are being erected to store too much corn.

In caves throughout the country is stored enough dried eggs to last the U. S. nine years at present rates of consumption. This year alone the government acquired another 59,000,000 pounds.

Butter in storage amounts to more than 60,000,000 pounds. Dry skim milk is piled up to a total of 245,000,000 pounds.

The government owns 15,500,000 pounds of cheese and is buying more at the rate of 2,000,000 pounds a week.

GET IT? Bumper crops this year mean that these fantastic totals will be vastly increased. Another 100,000,000 bushels of wheat are expected to end up in government hands. Nearly 6,000,000 bales of cotton are in storage; the specter of a 10,000,000-bale surplus now hangs over the market. For scores of other products the story is the same.

This is the contradiction of the present farm price support program, now continued indefinitely by Congress:

To keep farm prices up, the government is obliged to remove products from the open market so that "oversupply" will not completely overbalance demand. This creates its own vicious circle; with the government ready to snap up all surpluses, big growers continue to produce in vast quantities.

By removing surpluses from the market, the government enforces a planned scarcity gouging the consumer, who actually pays twice to maintain the system: first in artificially high prices, second in taxes.

TURKEYS GALORE: Big farmers get the lion's share of present price support benefits. Sharecroppers get none. To the middle and small farmer goes only a trickle, for which he plays more than he gets. On the whole he has maintained an income, but when a housewife pays 80c for a dozen eggs, he gets half or less of that. The rest goes to the processors, warehousemen, financiers, brokers and speculators.

Now new surpluses are appearing. A huge turkey crop is coming in and the government will be in the market for them to keep prices abnormally high and consumption low.

The same is true of pork. The hog crop this year has been enormous, and here again the government is obliged to buy and store. Housewives will continue to pay 70c or more a pound, and many will continue to do without it, while the government searches frantically for thousands of refrigerator cars in which to keep it.

SLIGHTLY SANE: There is a practical, though imperfect, alternative to this economic idiocy. Secretary of Agriculture Charles P. Brannan's plan would correct some abuses. It would keep the prices of most farm products at 100% of a new parity, and it would bring the prices for consumers down.

In its essentials the plan is simple. All farm crops would be put on the open market and allowed to find their own price level: the housewife would pay 60c or less for eggs instead of the present 80c or more. Meat, milk, butter, bread, all would come down. Wherever the consumer price level dropped below the point giving the producer a fair return, the government would make up the difference by direct payments to the farmer.

Congress so far has by-passed the Brannan Plan. Although the Truman Administration is using the plan as vote-bait, it refused to press for its adoption in this session. It failed even to fight for a "trial run" on certain products like pork.

ARE YOU HOLLERING? Present indications are that the Truman Administration is as insincere about the plan as it was about repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law.

But most small U.S. farmers are for it, many progressive trade union leaders have backed it, and the shopping housewife, who is forced to skimp in the midst of the world's greatest abundance of food—stored in ships and caves—is going to holler for it.

Official United Nations photo

This is United Nations Week

Four years ago today the Charter of the United Nations became effective to insure a free world of peace. The UN Declaration of Human Rights, adopted Dec. 10, 1948, says: "Let us unitedly, each in our own country, in cooperation with the United Nations, work together to build a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this declaration can be fully realized." For a demonstration of how "rights and freedoms" are being realized in the United States, see pages 6 and 7.

CIO CONVENTION

Can Phil Murray deliver U.S. labor to the bosses?

PAGE 12

2 SPECIAL PAGES

What the trial of the Communists means to you

PAGES 6-7

HENRY A. WALLACE

The shame of the 81st Congress

PAGE 3

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE

Calendar for progressives 11
Chicago: Rod Holmgren 8
Congress week 3
Dollar stretcher 11
Letters to the editor 2
National news roundup 3
Jennings Perry 9
Pots and pocketbooks 11
Report to readers 2
Frederick L. Schuman 11
Singer strike: Robt. Light 5
United Nations special 10
Wall St.: 20 yrs after 12
West Coast: G. Richards 4
World news roundup 9

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the progressive newsweekly

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Cedric Belfrage, *Editor* — John T. McManus, *General Manager* — James Aronson, *Executive Editor*

STAFF: Elmer Bendiner, Fritz Silber (Associate Editors), Robert Joyce (Art Editor), Leon Summit, Regina Oshlag (business and circulation); Tabitha Petran, Lawrence Emery, Robert E. Light, Egon Pohoryles, Adele Kravitz, Dorothy R. Mishkind.

CORRESPONDENTS: John B. Stone (Washington), Rod Holmgren (Chicago), Gene Richards (Los Angeles), Gordon Schaffer, Konni Zilliacus (London), Stanley Karnow (Paris), Emil Carlebach (Frankfurt), George Wheeler (Prague), Ralph Parker (Moscow), Peter Townsend (Shanghai), Max Werner (military), Richard A. Yaffe (roving), Ralph Peterson (books).

Vol. II, No. 2 178 OCTOBER 24, 1949

THE MAILBAG

The brighter side

NEW YORK, N.Y.

We are happy to note that you politely spurned the Americans for Democratic Action line. Those dead-end boys are poison to any progressive action.

We enjoy the cartoons immensely—the more the merrier. Please compliment your own cartoonist—and raise his salary.

Our hats are off to Max Werner.

Sylvia & John Dudzic

Artist's salary raised. How about another 100,000 readers—and we'll raise it again? Ed.

Boo!

ELGIN, ARIZ.

What's the matter with you fellows? Are you afraid of the MONSTER? For your info, the "monster" is our unconstitutional, dismal failure—bankrupt debt money system. Your staff is OK in a way, but you are overlooking the correction of the cause of war, chaos, riot, ruin, and rebellion by bloodshed from within.

Thought you birds were for peace.

Mal W. Eason

From an old fighter

MONTGOMERY CREEK, CALIF.

I'm just another old radical who fought with Debs, Tom Mooney, Upton Sinclair, and all the rest. I retired on an isolated mountain ranch in the Cascade Mountains. We smoke our own bacon, and get our fresh meat with a Winchester. In the winter we have no roads. Each election day my son, a veteran of Pearl Harbor, and I ride saddle horses through a blinding storm several miles to vote. Last time for Henry Wallace.

A friend in southern California recently sent me a bundle of GUARDIANS, first I had seen. I would to God every liberty-loving American could know the opportunity to read every word of every issue of this greatest of all papers. Enclosed is $2. Start my subscription now.

John R. Hoffman

Any High Pointers?

HIGH POINT, N.C.

Do you think you could let me know who else, if any, subscribe to the GUARDIAN in High Point? Perhaps you might ask this question for me through the Mailbag.

Virginia McEven White
c/o W. B. McEven
High Point, N. C.

Virus Feinberg

REGO PARK, N.Y.

Parents and other citizens wage widespread campaigns against polio—and rightly so. But the virus of polio is not as deadly as the germs which will be implanted in our children's minds as a result of the Feinberg law.

In the guise of filtering out communist germs, we are infecting our children with the germs of prejudice, fear, hatred and intolerance. Paralysis of the mind is as crippling as paralysis of the limbs.

We parents who want to see our children grow up with healthy minds must remove the fester of the Feinberg law before its contagion spreads.

Ruth Goldstein, member
Committee of a Thousand Parents Against the Feinberg Law

A Negro's credo

CINCINNATI, OHIO

The Negroes of America have been true and loyal citizens and underprivileged characters. We have been exploited in spite of the fact that the first blood spilled for America's freedom was that of Crispus Attucks, a Negro of Boston.

We have served America in every war—in every way we could. In peace we have striven as citizens to build America. We have helped build your highways from north to south, from east to west, your waterways from the Panama Canal to the borders of Canada, your railways and your factories, your skyscrapers and schools.

We take part in politics and for a great number of years were bound to the Republican Party until FDR's administration, under which the Negro found himself. We must continue to advance with the help of our true white friends and other minority groups in advocating civil rights.

G. Lackey

California's job

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

The way we hope to help Marc's campaign is by fighting on his program, our program, the Progressive Party's program, in our bailiwick. IPP in California is involved in a statewide election, a congressional by-election in San Francisco, and in plans to circulate an initiative to put a billion-dollar state public works program on the 1950 ballot. We're doing our best to build the kind of Progressive Party in California that will make it easier for all of us to win real victories from now on. Two years ago we said that if we could get on the ballot all the other states could. All but three of them did. We say now that if Marc can win, then all of us in our states can do some winning too when our next elections roll around.

Elinor Kahn, State Director
Independent Progressive Party of California

Free Press: A&P Div.

ARGONNE, WIS.

Our local newspaper in a town of about 2,000 published full page ads by the A&P against the present anti-trust suit. I wrote a letter to the paper giving the facts of the case, essentially as they were given in the GUARDIAN. I received the following reply:

"Received your letter, but I am sorry that we cannot print it in our news columns. Usually we are glad to publish letters of public interest. However, in this case we would not be fair to A&P if we did, as they are paying for their story to be told, and you or anyone else could answer it free of charge. We might even lose considerable revenue if A&P then decided to publish their future articles in our news columns. I have seen a number of ads by IGA (Independent Grocers Assn.) and Red Oval and other stores in connection with the A&P setup, so answers in other papers are paid ads."

You see, not only the big city papers are playing the game of the trusts, but also ye country editor, who, the legend says, "don't give a damn for nobody." Yours for more Guardians.

C. F. Rasmussen, Clerk,
Town of Argonne

A lively dove

MENLO PARK, CALIF.

Your wise policy not to stoop to red baiting is sound. Witness example of unions, governments, universities, movies. GUARDIAN's position is a live peace dove.

Helena H. Caldwell

Go down, Cotton

JARBIDGE, NEV.

I never did believe in reincarnation till I read in your paper of the Peekskill trouble. So sayeth I to myself: Cotton Mather must have returned from the nethermost bottom of hell and entered the mental vacuum of your wonderful Gov. Dewey to cause him to be such a Frankenstein. And he wanted to be President and give us efficient government. It looks like fascism wishes to look like democracy or anything but fascism.

What was it the devil said when he was sick?

John B. Ward

Mush, now!

CENTER SANDWICH, N.H.

I shall try to find time to send you a long list of names to whom to send sample copies. How I wish I could do better—but stuck up here in the most Republican and most reactionary of counties in New Hampshire, the sledding is tough.

Irma C. Otto

No coke, no gum

CRACOW, POLAND

I am trying to reach as many people as I can with the GUARDIAN—mostly my students at the university—lending them my copies after having read them from cover to cover. They all enjoy it immensely and greet with fervor the progressive and democratic America you represent.

I guess you know very well what we here stand for. Still I'd like to stress once more the fact that we—workers, peasants, and intellectuals—are all for peace, freedom from want, a better and nobler way of living (even if it doesn't include cokes or chewing gum) and social justice. Therefore we only smile when we hear how Winston Churchill pities us; we know he thinks of those 5% of the wealthy. But how about those 95% that are free to work, study, and play, as they never were before?

My very best wishes for your further success!

Christina Michalik Nedelkovic,
Lecturer in English, Cracow Univ.

100% parity?

EAST PEPPERELL, MASS.

In describing James Youngdale's farm program you say he is for "100% parity as the floor level for farm prices and a $3,000 minimum annual income guarantee for farm families." It is my impression that this will frighten some people—perhaps even as many as it would attract. I have helped organize unions (farmers union, and paper makers) and I speak from experience. Farmers, especially, tend to be cautious. They have a tradition of distrust and skepticism—which is probably one reason why so many of them have long been Republicans.

Our adversaries have a perfect argument against Youngdale. They can say it is impossible; that it will tax the country to death; that no one would even mean to keep such a promise. They would also say that it would bring the government right into the farmer's home—and you can imagine the slanders they would rake up on that score!

Personally, I am for socialism, and though I do not expect all progressives to agree with my politics, I think 100% parity, for instance, is impossible under the capitalistic system.

Al Amery

Life in Marseille

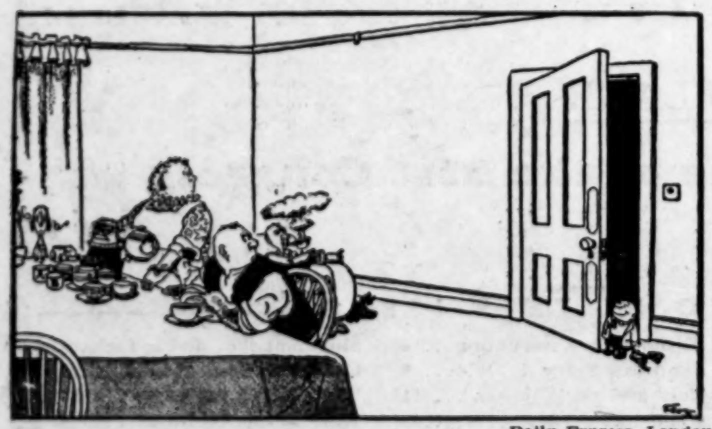
MARSEILLE, FRANCE

I need not tell you that this winter will be a winter of hardship for the common people of France. Already suffering under immense burdens of past wars and the present one against the Viet Namese Republic, the working class here is faced with more than rising prices and a wage freeze. Right now there is an actual attempt on the part of big employers to cut wages.

Here in Marseille mothers with babies in their arms have approached us in the street begging for money. The old, the blind and the maimed who beg are commonplace.

While the port facilities of France's leading seaport are not yet rebuilt from the terrible destruction by German mines, the ships from Indo-China unload their dead and wounded. Even the French reactionary admits, in simple explanation: "It is a trade war."

Max Dean



Daily Express, London

"I suppose you've all heard they're going to build a uranium factory at the end of our street."

Report to Readers

The press abdicates to the Smith Act

THE Act of Congress under which the eleven Communist Party leaders were convicted is called the Smith Act. It is a product of the same scheming Dixiecrat mind which framed the wartime Smith-Connolly Act against unions. It is in direct contravention of the First Amendment to our Constitution; it is anoffense and an outrage against the principles of Jefferson and Lincoln (to name two of the historic expounders of American liberties); it should long ago have been erased from the law books and redress given to any accused or convicted under it.

The Smith Act is today, and has been for the last nine years, a made-to-order target for any newspaper or publication dedicated to the preservation of American freedoms and the American way of life—which they all claim to be.

Yet where does your home-town newspaper stand today on the conviction of the eleven Communists or on the Smith Act itself?

THE editors of the GUARDIAN are not in a position to read every newspaper in the U. S. A., but to date only a handful of commercial newspapers has come to our attention which views the conviction — or legal pretext for it — with anything but mealy-mouthed approbation.

We think this is a hypocritical abdication of the function of the free press in a democracy.

The Good Book called the turn on such as these centuries ago (Matthew XXIII:27):

"WOE unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones and of all uncleanliness."

Frankly, we would like nothing better than to visit some real woe on the U. S. commercial press, if only in reprisal for the woe they have visited—year in and year out—on plain people seeking security, equal opportunity, fair wages, honest prices, decent housing, education, health, peace and a lot of other democratic guarantees which the press of our country has gleefully ridiculed and besmirched for generations.

"WHILE that press has its evil eye in every house," Charles Dickens wrote of the American press 100 years ago, "while it is standard literature of an enormous class, who must find their reading in a newspaper or they will not read at all, so long must its odium be upon the country's head, and so long must the evil it works be plainly visible in the republic."

Well, in our opinion the evil has never been more plainly visible than right now and, again in our opinion, the opportunity for a real challenge has seldom been nearer at hand.

YES, we do mean NATIONAL GUARDIAN, which has grown from nowhere to more than 100,000 readers every week in the short space of one year—and which would grow a lot faster if a lot of our readers were not so darned down in the mouth about the state of affairs around us.

Actually, we haven't even begun to fight in this situation. When the people get mad enough, they'll step in and take over just as they did in Jefferson's time; and if the press gets in the way they'll roll right over it with a press of their own—which is precisely why we are here.

Yours for a million GUARDIAN readers,

John T. McManus

ROUNDUP OF THE WEEK'S NEWS

THE NATION

From honey to A-bombs to ...?

SWEETNESS Day on Sunday was followed by National Honey Week. The nation survived, not without difficulty.

The House Armed Services Committee lingered in Washington after the rest of Congress adjourned, hearing more testimony on whether the Air Force's atom bomb or the Navy's supercarrier can best be used against the Soviets.

Contrary to popular impression, commented GUARDIAN's Max Werner, it was not a naval war against the Air Force. "It was a fight among technicians." Some know that "for strategic purposes, the atomic bomb will not work, that about 5,000 modern fighters can and will stave off about 500 long-range bombers."

It was a dispute as to how to make war, how to prepare for war, how to spend for war. Some cared not how war was made but how many dollars it would cost. Among these was conservative Dr. Edwin G. Nourse, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. He resigned protesting against "excessive" spending for social programs—or for military programs no matter which brass ran them.

SHOULDER BRIEF-CASES: Abroad, the brief-case soldiers of the cold war were gathering. U.S. ambassadors to western Europe met in Paris; those accredited to eastern Europe were called to London. They had to consider the New China, the Russian bomb and the spreading collapse of the Marshall Plan world into economic chaos.

C. L. Sulzberger of the New York Times put his finger on a problem. He said he had heard "statesmen contend that U.S. policy-makers are sometimes not aware of the basic issues posed today and, for that reason, they are occasionally placed at a disadvantage."

The critical statesmen Sulzberger found had grist for their mill last week. In Washington Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower called for unity so that the country might be strong enough "to whip the world." It tactlessly offended those who did not want to be whipped.

At home President Truman tried to put a good face on things, sent Congress off with his blessings and appointed to the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals William Hastie, now serving as Governor of the Virgin Islands. Many applauded the appointment of the first Negro to the Appellate Court, but Negro lawyers in Pennsylvania, where the vacancy had occurred, protested that the President need not have looked so far as the Caribbean for Negro abilities.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Do you have four friends? Put them in the subscription blank on P. 11

CONGRESS WEEK

The session ends with groaning shelf

ON Wednesday, about 7 p.m., after the longest peace-time session in 27 years (290 days), three girls walked into the House of Representatives and sang "The Eyes of Texas Are Upon You." The first session of the 81st Congress was over. Representatives cheered. Senators made speeches; they didn't quit till 8:10.

In seeming seriousness men offered these endorsements of the session: Harry Truman: "Worth while." House Speaker Sam Rayburn: "Amazing." Secretary of State Dean Acheson (speaking of the work of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee): "Magnificent." Senate Majority Leader Scott Lucas stole a slogan from the Progressive Party to describe the results: "Peace, Progress, Prosperity."

BLACK BOX SCORE: This was the record: The Taft-Hartley Law was still on the books. Dead or on the shelf were: civil rights legislation, expanded social security, national health insurance, federal aid to education, a liberalized displaced persons law.

Scarcely on the credit side was a woefully inadequate public housing act; a minimum wage law which boosted earnings to 75c an hour but removed an unestimated number of workers from protection; and a farm bill which maintains price supports at 90% of parity for four years but which completely shelves the Brannan Plan,

Washington Post

"There . . . everything fits."

keystone of the Democrats' bid for the farm vote in 1950.

DEEP FREEZE SESSION: But on the cold war side the story was different. Everything, and more, had been given for the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact. A record peacetime military budget of $15,585,000,000 had been voted. Funds for arms to Europe and the European Recovery Program more than doubled the figure. Said blunt Rep. Clarence Cannon (D-Mo.), chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, on the last day: "This is, in fact, a military budget."

To meet its arms and war commitments, the government had again embarked on deficit spending: money going out would be $5,000,000,000 more than money coming in.

Henry A. Wallace on the 81st Congress

The airplane builders were in complete charge

THE 81st Congress had before it the choice of waging war or waging peace. Its great mistake was to wage war. . . . It was a war-minded Congress, an inflation-minded Congress, an anti-labor Congress. It was a Congress that fundamentally and in the last analysis was owned by the airplane builders, the battleship and tank makers, and the munitions fabricators.

A year ago, immediately after the 81st Congress was elected, I made a statement about that Congress:

"Yesterday the American people showed by their votes that they were against Taft-Hartley and repressive labor legislation; against high prices to the consumer and for price protection to the farmer. These are issues which would not have been injected into the campaign but for the determined fight of the Progressive Party. . . .

"To bring down prices, protect the farmers, free labor, and extend civil liberties, government-by-crisis and the cold war must be ended. . . ."

NEARLY everything I predicted a year ago has come to pass. Prices were not brought down, Taft-Hartley was not repealed, the poll tax still flourishes, and the spirit of jimcrow marches up and down this land with no interference from a Federal Fair Employment Act. There will be no Missouri Valley Authority as long as the cold war is going full blast.

Our Administration and our congressmen use hatred of Russia and the Communists as a blind, as a pretext to avoid doing anything worthwhile for the people.

The 81st Congress will take great credit for upping minimum wages from 40 to 75 cents an hour. But this increase hardly takes care of the increased cost of living and the new law withdraws protection from so many workers that low-paid labor under the new legislation . . . actually has less protection than it had back in the thirties.

Our senior citizens have had the meeting of their needs postponed again.

DR. NOURSE resigns as chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers because he sees an economic blow-up coming and no disposition to prepare for the storm. No nation can long spend in time of peace $17,000,000,000 annually for hot war and $6,000,000,000 for cold war. . . . The strongest criticism of all that can be made against the Administration and Mr. Truman's 81st Congress is that they have not waged peace with the same enthusiasm with which they have waged war. They have not gotten ready to meet the tremendous economic problems which will burst upon the world if the U. S. doesn't start spending for peace and abundance instead of continuing the huge non-productive spending for arms and the cold war.

The 81st Congress . . . went all out to support farm prices at 90% of parity and to cushion the fall that might come later. . . . The 83rd Congress, when it starts paying the bills which the 81st Congress has run up, will be tempted to run out on the commitments made. . . . You can't for long maintain a cold war and a solvent farm program. If either the 82nd or 83rd Congress in its disgust should repudiate the actions of the 81st Congress, the accumulated farm surpluses would topple over our entire economic structure.

THE second session of the 81st Congress can stop the cold war by cutting off appropriations for destruction and making appropriations for construction. . . . The United States doesn't have to knuckle under to Russia and Russia doesn't need to knuckle down to the United States.

They both have to join in building a strong United Nations which will help humanity to develop all the resources of the world to help people rather than power-hungry nations. Both the United States and Russia will get many more black eyes if they do not call off their senseless armament race.

The United States as the stronger of the two should take the initiative. The second session of the 81st Congress will be worse than the first unless that action is taken. Truman and Stalin must meet in good faith to wage peace even as Roosevelt and Stalin met in good faith to wage war.

Excerpted from Mr. Wallace's remarks over the Mutual Broadcasting System last Thursday evening.

THE TRIALS

Communists get five-year terms

THE nation's leaders acclaimed two heroes last week: Harold R. Medina and John F. X. McGohey, respectively judge and prosecutor at the trial of the 11 Communist Party leaders.

On the day after the conviction, President Truman nominated McGohey to a Federal judgeship. The New York County Criminal Courts Bar Assn. gave distinguished service awards to both Medina and McGohey.

LEHMAN LIKES IT: Reporters chronicled Medina's "patience and wisdom" and the number of martinis (2) he consumed before dinner. Telegrams of congratulation poured in. Herbert Lehman, Democratic-Liberal candidate for the U.S. Senate from New York, wired McGohey that the verdict was "a mighty victory for freedom and liberty." McGohey, in reply, said it was a "vindication of your own long fight against Communists and all subversives in this country."

DEWEY POINTS THE WAY: News of the decision reached Gov. Dewey at Newburgh where he was lunching with the Rotary, Lions and Kiwanis Clubs. He broke the news exultantly. Afterwards he stood on a terrace and pointed out to high school children the buildings of Camp Beacon, a resort for progressives.

He said: "I understand that in that camp over there are a very substantial number of our communist enemies who meet regularly during the summer, and I hope as you look at that camp every year you will remember that people who come there would like to deprive you of all freedoms that they enjoy in this country."

Peekskill is not far from Beacon.

PARTY NOT OUTLAWED: U.S. Attorney General McGrath told the National Press Club in Washington that the decision did not outlaw the Communist Party. It convicted only 11 men, he said, adding: "That is as far as we tried to go. I do not think the 11 could accomplish the overthrow of the government. Let us not be hysterical and lose our balance over it."

Though the vast majority of the press applauded, a few large dailies condemned the decision. Among these were N.Y. **Daily Compass,** the St. Louis **Post-Dispatch,** the St. Louis **Times,** the Madison (Wis.) **Capital Times,** the York (Pa.) **Gazette and Daily.** (For other reactions see p. 7.)

For whom the bell tolls

Stirrings of protest were spotted all over the country. Farmers rallied against the decision in Freehold, N.J. Negro longshoremen held a meeting on the waterfront of Houston, Tex. Scarcely any large city in the country was without its rallies. From all over the world progressives sent messages of deep concern for U.S. liberties.

ANOTHER DEBS? Campaigners for the reelection of Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, one of the 11, remembered Socialist Gene Debs who ran his Presidential race from a jail cell and polled the largest left-wing vote in the country's history.

Last week several councilmen asked for unanimous consent of their fellow-

members to deprive Davis of his seat, charging he had violated the oath of office. On the morning the resolution was advanced, more than 1,000 pickets ringed City Hall Park. Inside, Eugene Connolly (ALP) said: "I object." The resolution had to be referred to committee.

MONEY FOR DEFENSE: All week, while the defendants stayed in their cells at Federal Detention Headquarters, men and women canvassed their neighbors to raise money for defense—most immediately for bail, if the judge would grant it—while the appeals were taken to higher courts.

During the week doubt arose as to what that maximum sentence was. All along it was thought to be 10 years and $10,000. Then it was learned that in codifying the Smith Act, "either through an oversight or by design," no penalty had been set by Congress for "conspiring" to violate it—the specific crime of which the 11 stand convicted.

THE SENTENCE: On Friday morning crowds gathered in Foley Square.

People waited all through the morning and into the afternoon, anxiously talking together in little knots before the courthouse or standing silently on the steps of nearby public buildings. Inside the defendants spoke briefly to the court. The prosecutor asked that each be sentenced to 10 years and fined $10,000.

Judge Medina dismissed all defense motions for a new trial and finally passed sentence: for ten of the defendants, the maximum five years and $10,000; for Robert Thompson, New York State chairman of the Communist Party, 3 years and $10,000. Thompson's record as a war hero, his earning of the Distinguished Service Cross had won him a veterans' preference.

The judge heard defense attorneys plead for bail. Then he turned down the request. The 11 were hustled away in a van to their prison. Their lawyers sped to the Circuit Court of Appeals to file their briefs.

COPLON

Act II

BEFORE Federal Judge Vincent L. Leibell appeared Soviet engineer Valentin A. Gubitchev, suspended from his job at the United Nations. The government says he and Judith Coplon, ex-"government girl," are guilty of espionage. Their trial is scheduled to open Nov. 9. Judith Coplon had already been convicted on the same charge last spring.

Gubitchev, who claims diplomatic immunity, spurned lawyers. "All those cases against me," he said, "are illegal and this court couldn't judge me."

POLITICS

NEW JERSEY

'Loyalty' Oaths declared illegal!

ACROSS the nation, one legislature after another had passed bills requiring "loyalty" oaths. The march of repression was stopped in Maryland last spring when the Ober Law was ruled unconstitutional. It was blocked again last week in Trenton, N.J., city of the Trenton Six.

A bi-partisan New Jersey Legislature had passed the Tumulty-Mehorter laws. Among other things they required candidates for public office to sign loyalty oaths. If any failed to sign this year that fact was to be noted on the ballot. Failure to comply next year would rule the candidate off the ballot.

Republican and Democratic candidates scurried to sign. Throughout the state public ceremonies were held.

PP FIGHTS BACK: Outside the circle stood the candidates of the Progressive Party. They maintained that special loyalty oaths were illegal, refused to sign and went to court. They lost their first case and ballots were printed with the phrase: "Refused oath of allegiance" next to their names. But the PP appealed the case.

Last week, the State Superior Court handed down its decision:

The people had a "right under our democratic system of government to choose whom they will for office, unless the candidate is disqualified by some provision in the Constitution." Loyalty oaths were illegal in New Jersey.

The state said it would appeal the decision to the N.J. Supreme Court, but lawyers doubted that the court would rule before the election. Meanwhile the Secretary of State sent wires to all

county clerks ordering them to discard ballots already printed. PP members, jubilant but wary, prepared to see that the orders were carried out.

Over the river

Across the river in New York, progressives saw their fight against the Feinberg Law reinforced by the Jersey decision. Three separate actions are now pending against the law, which would institute an inquisition to determine the loyalty of teachers. In Albany, the Communist Party has obtained a temporary injunction against issuance of a "subversive list" by the Board of Regents; in New York City, the CIO Teachers Union obtained a restraining order preventing the Board of Education from applying the law; in Kingston, State Sen. Fred G. Moritt (D-ALP) had filed a similar suit. All three seek to have the law declared unconstitutional.

Where witches burned

But some state courts still refuse to see the handwriting on the wall. In Massachusetts, Supreme Court Justice Harold P. Williams refused the plea of the state Communist Party to stop a Bay State witchhunt law before it takes effect Oct. 28. The measure would bar Communists from state, county and municipal offices and require a loyalty oath from public employes.

Justice Williams allowed CP attorneys ten days to complete further arguments, to which, he indicated, he would listen.

Nuns for Bingo

FOUR hundred black-robed nuns filed into Newark's St. Patrick's Cathedral School Hall last week. They were principals and teachers in New Jersey's parochial schools summoned to a meeting by their bishop. Solemnly, Rev. Dr. John J. Dougherty rose to address them.

Bingo, he said, was vital to the welfare of the church's educational institutions. Bingo games brought in the

(Continued on following page)

West Coast wire

Phony campaign seeks repeal of decent old age pension law

By Gene Richards

LOS ANGELES

ROBBING the old and poor and stealing from the blind was being developed into a fine science last week in California by one of the ablest political machines ever hatched by the state's corporate bigwigs.

From San Francisco to San Diego, newspapers blasted and radio sets shrieked pious warnings to the voters that their needy aged and blind would suffer unless they go to the polls Nov. 8 and pass Proposition 2, the "Aged and Blind" initiative.

The brazen fact was that the proposition, cooked up by top-drawer business and banking interests, had for its major purpose the repeal of the only decent features of a pension plan adopted by more than 2,000,000 voters last November.

BIG SWITCH: A second objective was to remove the pension program from its safe niche in the state constitution, hand it over to a lobby-controlled legislature, pass administration of it to 58 hamstringing county setups and switch the tax-load for pension upkeep from big corporate folks to little property owners, farmers and small businessmen.

CIO, AFL, the Independent Progressive Party, the California Legislative Conference, the Communist Party, the Citizens Committee for Old Age Pensions, the Legislative Committee of California Blind and alert liberals and progressives generally were hep to the double-talk and the phony front of the bankers' pension-repeal crusade.

But the Parent Teachers organization, the League of Women Voters and a few other worthy groups had been sold a bill of goods.

SELLING POINTS: Camouflage for the slick trick was partly the sponsors' plea that school finances were jeopardized by the "high" cost of pensions, and partly a repeal front organization calling itself the California Council for the Blind and headed by a man alreeady securely drawing a teachers' pension.

Another selling point used by the repeal crowd was the allegation that Mrs. Myrtle Williams, voted into administration of the pension program in last year's election, was a "dictator."

Though some supporters of the existing pension program were critical of writing Mrs. Williams into the original proposition, they charge that the would-be repealers are using this pretext in an effort to destroy the entire pension program.

THE BIG STEAL: Passage of Proposition 2 would in effect nullify Proposition 4, whose adoption in last November's referendum raised pensions for the aged from $65 to $75 a month and for the needy blind from $75 to $85.

Because Proposition 2 would pass a tax load estimated at $21,000,000 annually back to the counties and little taxpayers, the move is being opposed by home owners and small businessmen.

The move to repeal California's improved pension program was begun even before the law went into effect four months ago. Commercial petition circulators hit the sidewalks and top advertising agencies poured a stream

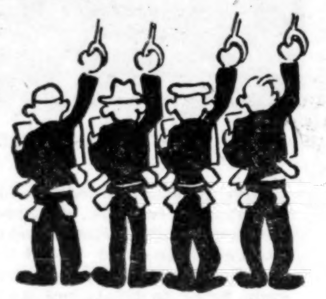
of copy into newspaper offices and broadcasting studios. But the onslaught appears to have united, in a common defense program, pension advocates previously separated by minor differences which kept them from a complete union in the last election.

(Continued from preceding page)

cash. Elmer H. Wene, the Democratic candidate for governor, stood for legalizing Bingo. Incumbent Alfred E. Driscoll had once said Bingo games were run by "gangsters and racketeers." The church would support Wene. The nuns were ordered to distribute pro-Wene circulars throughout their schools.

Progressive Party candidate James Imbrie asked: "Do you think the Trenton Six are interested in Bingo?"

NEW YORK



Marc shows who swindles whom

SILK-STOCKING mayoralty candidate Newbold Morris (Rep.-Lib.-Fusion) suddenly discovered that bookmakers operate on the sidewalks of New York. Democratic Mayor O'Dwyer's shoo-fly cops headlined a couple of friendly pinches. One Brooklyn bookie, shooed out of a neighborhood candy store, merely moved his base to a nearby Morris-for-Mayor political clubhouse.

MARC AIRS SCANDAL: American Labor Party candidate Vito Marcantonio struck a new note. Instead of making political capital out of the commonplace bookie, he took to the radio with what shaped up as a billion-dollar tax scandal.

Realty assessments in the city, he disclosed, had been lowered from 19 to 18 billion since 1932, while increased sales taxes and transit fare increases had been visited on the general N.Y. public by the O'Dwyer regime.

Specifically Marc gave the score: **N.Y. Herald Tribune** (Rep.) building, down from $2,500,000 to $1,810,000; **Daily News** (backing O'Dwyer) building from $8,250,000 to $7,200,000. Also the N.Y. Stock Exchange, down from $23,500,000 in 1932 to $17,600,000 in '49.

SIMPLE ARITHMETIC: Finally and pointedly, the N.Y. residence of Rep. senatorial candidate John Foster Dulles, down from $69,000 in '32 to $47,000 today; and that of former Assistant Secretary of State Adolph A. Berle, Liberal Party sponsor of Newbold Morris, down from $50,000 in '32 to $40,000 today.

Throughout the city rents and real estate values were skyrocketing; landlords of commercial buildings were doing well. Marcantonio proposed an upward revaluation of $6,000,000,000, so aimed that it would not hit small property owners; would yield enough to build schools and hospitals, return the city to the 5c fare and pay sorely needed wage increases to city employes.

Everybody's voting

During New York's registration last week a weary clerk took down the vital statistics from a young Puerto Rican, his voice still richly colored by an accent. The register asked whether or not he was a citizen. The Puerto Rican answered: "By virtue of conquest, oppression and exploitation, I am a citizen." Then he signed his name.

Few experts doubted that the city's Puerto Rican population, imported for cheap labor, hemmed into Harlem, bullied by cops, would support Marcantonio. The questions were: how many of them would turn out; how Marc's strength was shaping up elsewhere.

WORKERS ON THE MOVE: Almost 3,800,000 people registered to vote—86% more than in the last mayoralty campaign in 1945. The total represented the largest in the city's history for a non-Presidential election.

Working-class districts throughout the city showed large increases. Jewish, Italian, Negro and Puerto Rican districts had the highest gains. In Marcantonio's own Harlem district, registration was 70% higher than in 1945. In Democratic and Republican machine areas, totals fell.

The large Italian registration stirred hopes that Marcantonio had gained the old LaGuardia vote.

CALIFORNIA

Garry and Shelley: 2 kinds of Democrat

IN a whirlwind petition campaign by the Independent Progressive Party which garnered 17,000 signatures in 10 days, "Roosevelt Democrat" Charles R. Garry was put on the special election ballot in San Francisco's 5th Congressional District.

Democrat Garry, who favors world disarmament and immediate recognition of the New China, is running against a Republican and another Democrat, state AFL head John F. Shelley, who will "go down the line 100% for Truman." When Garry challenged Shelley on Taft-Hartley repeal, a local FEPC, unemployment alleviation and state old-age pension extension, Shelley renewed his vows of fealty to Truman and denounced Garry's candidacy as a move to split the labor and progressive vote.

SHOWDOWN: Shelley said Garry should withdraw. But last week, at a meeting of the San Francisco CIO Council, Garry proposed an open conference of labor and progressive organizations, which should hear the view of both Democrats, formulate a program, and invite withdrawal of the candidate least in accord with the sentiments of the conference.

The voters, Garry said, should have "the opportunity to elect a congressman who will take a fighting, definite position. . . . I cannot stand silently by and see candidates fail to even raise the peaceful alternatives to war as campaign issues."

LABOR WEEK

UE-FE

A proposal: looks like 'Yes'

LAST year the CIO Executive Board leveled a shotgun at the United Farm Equipment Workers and ordered it to marry the United Auto Workers. The merger would have meant dissolution of FE and placing all of its members under UAW control.

In the spring FE delegates in convention voted unanimously against the merger. UAW raiders pursued their courtship with brass knuckles. FE said it "didn't aim to lie back and enjoy it."

Last week FE members were making up their own minds on another marriage proposal—with the United Electrical Workers 500,000-strong and one of the most militant unions in the country. FE officers had recommended the merger and were putting it to a referendum this week. The only member of the Executive Board to oppose the recommendation was Peter Aversa of the Auburn Local. On Thursday the 2,000 members of his local voted unanimously to join UAW.

MARRIAGE TERMS: There was little doubt that most of FE would say yes. The alternatives were merger with UAW or to remain single and lose its CIO charter, as threatened by the top CIO officials. Besides, it seemed clearly a good deal.

Here are the terms of the marriage contract: FE would become the "Farm Equipment and Metal Workers Council of UE." All UE locals in the farm equipment field would also become part of the Council. Collective bargaining and organizing in the industry would be the sole responsibility of the Council.

The FE president and staff would remain as chairman and staff of the Council.

FE locals would get UE charters; FE members would have full UE privileges.

Top CIO officials warned of retaliation. Alan Haywood, CIO's Director of Organization, hinted that if UE took over FE contracts, the CIO would take court action.

UE vs UAW

FE members had a chance to compare suitors last week. The 128-day UAW strike against Bell Aircraft in Buffalo, N.Y., ended with questions of wages, firings, pensions left to arbitration. Scabs were guaranteed no loss of seniority and will not be required to join the union.

The UE agreement with Radio Corporation of America, covering 12,000 workers, called for wage increases; company financed insurance; hospital and medical plans; improved holiday pay; seniority and vacations.

(Continued on Page 8)

Weather clear, track fast

This is the Elizabeth story — a tale of speedup and sellout

By Robert E. Light
ELIZABETH, N.J.

F. AMBROSE CLARK, senior member of the Clark family, which owns and controls the Singer Sewing Machine Co., is a sportsman. His estate, on which he has assembled 50 head of deer, contains fine pasture land for thoroughbreds. Recently he paid $106,000 for a racehorse.

His passion for racing extends beyond his private life. In 1946 the Singer plants put into effect a "stan-

dards" system designed by efficiency expert Phil Carroll Jr., and a staff of time study engineers.

Based on the careful study of the experts, a Standard was set for each job. A moulder should turn out 42 pieces a day, an assembler 1,000, etc. For this Standard the worker is paid a base rate with an added amount for any extra he turns out. When he cannot meet the Standard, he is transferred to another job, where he may take a pay cut, or he is fired.

WORKING OUT OF A JOB: The Standards are usually a far higher rate than the workers are used to producing. Failure to meet Standards means mass layoffs. While production goes up, wages and employment go down; workers work themselves out of a job. Older workers find it hardest to meet the production goals: their seniority, pension and job security rights, which they have built up for 20 or 30 years, go out the window under the system.

The **Catholic Worker** tells of a pressroom in one Singer plant which earned the name "butcher shop" because so many workers lost fingers, suffered back strain, broke down under the mental strain.

STRIKE: Workers at Singer's Elizabeth, N. J., plant described Standards as "a modern speedup system the company uses to get more production and more profits out of the workers for less money." The spread of the system through their plant drove them to strike on May 2. Four days later they were joined by 1,500 Singer workers at the Bridgeport, Conn., plant. The strikers were members of the United Electrical Workers, CIO.

They asked for a change in the Standards, a general wage increase, and the right to negotiate changes in the work schedule in case of cutbacks in production.

Forgetting political differences—Tom Williams, Bridgeport local president, is a James Carey-right wing supporter; Robert Brennan and Louis Schumann, president and business agent of the Elizabeth local, support the Fitzgerald administration — the two locals agreed to fight together. For four months they maintained a united front.

PROGRESS: Negotiations made no progress. The company refused to discuss Standards, rejected mediation efforts of public officials. The strikers stood firm in their insistence on altering the speedup.

On Sept. 12, when the strike was 130 days old, the company agreed at a meeting with the Elizabeth negotiating committee in Gov. Driscoll's office to discuss changes in the Standards system. The talks went well for the union. A settlement seemed near. The meeting adjourned, scheduled to reconvene on Sept. 14.

Notifying Williams at once, Brennan and Schumann suggested he postpone Bridgeport negotiations until they followed up their gains. Williams refused and went into separate session with the company.

Two days later, when Elizabeth negotiations were resumed, the company changed its attitude. It again refused to discuss Standards. Talks were discontinued.

SELLOUT: On Oct. 2 Williams announced the Bridgeport strike had ended in "real victory." The settlement called for no change in Standards, no general wage increase, no right to negotiate work schedules.

Elizabeth strikers were shocked. Brennan and Schumann said Williams had made a secret deal with the company at a private meeting on Sept. 12—the day Elizabeth negotiations were making progress. They charged Williams with sellout, betrayal and political factionalism.

Faced with capitulation at Bridgeport, the 7,000 Elizabeth strikers were forced to take what they could get. Last week they signed an agreement with the company. It did not change Standards, but won a wage increase for 2,000 workers, improved seniority rights and increased vacations, and provided for an umpire to settle Standards grievances.

The speedup goes on. Elizabeth strikers felt no remorse for having struck, but vowed that all organized labor should know of the sellout by Williams and other Bridgeport leaders.

Those who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporar

LAST week's verdict of Guilty upon 11 leaders of the U.S. Communist Party, charged with "conspiring to teach and advocate" their radical convictions, was no surprise to most inhabitants of cold-war America. But the fact that such a verdict has been handed down in an American court is a black landmark in our history, the significance of which for every free American cannot be ignored.

As a radical publication the GUARDIAN is not only not intimidated by the verdict, as 99% of the "free press" has been, but regards it as a loud, clear call to all who care about the American tradition to rally to put their country back on the American path. In token of this we devote two of our pages to recent statements by unintimidated Americans on the implications of the "red" heresy hunt culminating in the verdict on the Communists.

The Time of the Toad

By Dalton Trumbo

(Novelist, playwright, poet and scenarist; one of the Hollywood Ten whose jail sentences for "contempt of Congress" will shortly be reviewed by the Supreme Court.)

SOME time before he became involved in the Dreyfus Affair, Emile Zola wrote an article called "The Toad." It purported to be his advice to a younger writer who could not stomach the aggressive mendacity of a press which in 1890 was determined to plunge the citizens of the French Republic into disaster.

Zola explained his own method of inuring himself against newspaper columns. Each morning, over a period of time, he bought a toad in the market place, and devoured it alive and whole. After such a steady diet one could face almost any newspaper with a tranquil stomach, recognize and swallow the toad contained therein, and actually relish that which to healthy men not similarly immunized would be a lethal poison.

ALL nations have passed through periods which might be called the Time of the Toad: an epoch long or short as the temper of the people may permit, in which the nation turns upon itself in a kind of compulsive madness to deny all in its tradition that is clean, to exalt all that is vile, and to destroy any heretical minority which asserts toad-meat not to be the delicacy which governmental edict declares it.

The most striking example in recent history of a nation passing through the Time is offered by Germany. In its beginnings in that unfortunate country the Toad was announced by the shrill voice of a mediocre man ranting against Communists and Jews.

Thereafter, in a welter of oaths, tests, inquisitions and inquests, the German nation surrendered its mind.

IN August, 1949, Archibald MacLeish wrote in the **Atlantic Monthly:**

"Revolution, which was once a word spoken with pride by every American who had the right to claim it, has become a word spoken with timidity and doubt and even loathing. And freedom which, in the old days, was something you used, has now become something you save—something you put away and protect like your other possessions—like a deed or a bond in a bank. The true test of freedom is in its use. It has no other test."

It ought only to be added that the use of freedom, the actual invocation of the Bill of Rights, is an exceedingly dangerous procedure; and that the paths of men who act, even upon sentiments which receive universal acclaim, lead more often to jail than into the sunlight of public approval.

THE standards of the Toad have achieved the sanctity of written law.

MacLeish diagnoses the national malaise thus: "A people who have been real to themselves because they were for something cannot continue to be real to themselves when they find they are merely against something."

Here is the core of the matter. We are against the Soviet Union in our foreign policy abroad, and we are against anything partaking of socialism or communism in our internal affairs. This quality of opposition has become the keystone of our national existence. Being only against something and never for anything, we must equate every act in terms of the act of our opponent. What our enemy does we must not do; what he does not we must at any cost do ourselves. Each morning we observe the drift of the wind out of the Don Basin. At lunch-time we test the temperature of the Siberian wilderness. At night we are canny with the moon, for it shines also upon the domes of Moscow.

IN the campaign ahead, we shall have to depend upon our ability to summon from its slumber the immense devotion to Constitutional government which still abides with the American people. We shall have to reassert the dignity of the intellect.

Adolph Hitler said: "Bismarck told us that liberalism was the pacemaker of Social Democracy. I need not say here that Social Democracy is the pacemaker of Communism." Similarly Mr. J. Parnell Thomas equates "New Dealism" with Communism.

The legal principles which protect against the force of the state protect all. If a Communist comes first under attack and is overwhelmed, the breach opened by his fall becomes an avenue for the advance of the enemy with all his increased prestige upon you. You need not agree with the Communist while you engage in his and your common defense. You may, indeed, oppose him with every honorable weapon in your arsenal, dissociate yourself from his theories and repudiate his final objectives.

But defend him you must, for his defeat in the Constitutional battle involves the overturn of principles which thus far have stood as our principal barrier, short of bloodshed, against fascism.

Copies of "The Time of the Toad," from which the above was excerpted, may be had by writing to: The Hollywood Ten, 1574 Crossroads of the World, Hollywood, Calif. Price 10c. Orders of 50 or more, 7½c.

The Communists' five lawyers sentenced
man, George Crockett, Richard Gladstei

When New York belonged to the Englis Peter Zenger was arrested for publishin independence. "Respectable" lawyers sh radical. Two who dared to help him we

Finally a sick old man, Andrew Hami case, went to trial, and won an acquittal i press defense in American history. Judg Andrew Hamilton.

Who was really provoke

The record make of Medina's 'sain

By George Marion

(Newspaper man and author of "Bases of Empire," who has just completed a new book, "The Communist Trial: An American Crossroads," now on the presses of Fairplay Publishers for Nov. 1 publication.)

THE trial was over. As I walked down the courthouse steps at Foley Sq. I held a letter from a Protestant minister in Gilbertsville, N.Y.

"It is my opinion," he wrote, "that Judge Medina has bent over backward to give the defendants in the Communist conspiracy trial the fairest sort of treatment."

ANSWER TO A FRIEND: I would like to answer my minister friend thus:

Reverend Sir:

Thank you for your obviously sincere letter. Let me return candor for candor: I cannot regard your opinion as "independent." What else could you think when court, prosecutor and press have permitted no other opinion? Have you been given facts on which to formulate a doubt?

Had you attended the trial and read the 20,000 pages of its record, I honest-

There was another Sedition Act

The story of Matthew Lyon

By Carl Carmer

America's battle to preserve civil rights started with the birth of the republic, and has never ceased. The story of Congressman Matthew Lyon of Vermont is part of the battle. Carl Carmer, author of "Stars Fell on Alabama," wrote this account for the newspaper "PM" May 25, 1941.

AFTER Gentleman Johnnie Burgoyne had met his come-uppance at Saratoga, Matthew Lyon felt the country was safe enough for him to leave the army and he settled down in Vermont and began to make money. By 1783 he was the most distinguished citizen of Fair Haven. It took him five years more to get elected to Congress.

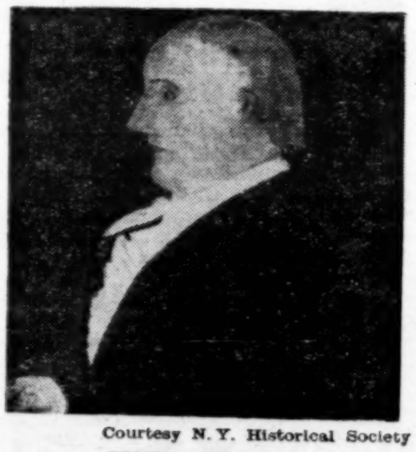
CRIME OF CRITICISM: When Lyon got to Philadelphia, where Congress was in session, he was fighting mad at President John Adams and the stuck-up members of his "court" because of all their pretensions to royal splendor and aristocratic blood, and he said so. He made the Federalists so angry that they looked for a chance to get back at him by charging him with breaking the Sedition Law.

They whooped with delight when they came upon one of Lyon's letters published in a Vermont newspaper. In it he had said: "But whenever I shall on the part of the Executive see every consideration of the public welfare swallowed up in a continual grasp for power. . . . I shall not be their humble advocate."

VERDICT, THEN TRIAL: Hastily the Federalists added to this letter other similar evidences of Matthew Lyon's having violated the Sedition Law.

When the trial got under way, everybody knew what the result would be. Federalist District Attorney March shouted that Lyon was guilty of a horrible crime, while Federalist jurors listened with the light of vengeance gleaming in their eyes.

Federalist Judge Paterson told them that Lyon had made a speech "calculated to excite their pity" and clearly suggested that they bring in a verdict of guilty. After an hour's



Courtesy N. Y. Historical Society

MATTHEW LYON

deliberation, they did just that.

"Four months' imprisonment," said the judge, "and a fine of $1,000."

THE PEOPLE CATCH ON: Matthew Lyon rode as a common criminal to Vergennes to be jailed.

But something had suddenly gone wrong. Against this lonely prisoner were arraigned the President of the U.S.A., his Cabinet and advisers, the ruling political party—and yet in a twinkling he had more power than they. For the people of the U.S.A. had become aware that a man had been put in jail for saying what he thought about the government.

All over the nation the people who had fought a war for their civil rights were demanding that they be kept. Down in the Carolina country John Taylor was passing around his big hat to raise the money to pay Matt Lyon's fine. In Virginia, Thomas Jefferson was doing the same thing.

Now the people of Vermont had the chance to defend Matthew Lyon with weapons even more powerful than the axes, crowbars and muskets of the Green Mountain Boys. They could use their votes. The fighting Irishman in the dirty little cell was coming up for re-election to Congress.

VOTES WIN THE DAY: And the "jailbird" licked them to a fare-you-well. Out of the farmhouses, out of village stores, out of lumber camps poured a stream of voters aching to tell the people of the U.S.A. that you couldn't make a Vermonter keep his mouth shut by throwing him in jail.

orary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety . . . . . Benjamin Franklin

tenced for contem. t (l to r): A. J. Isser- Gladstein, Harry Sacher, Louis McCabe.

e English crown, an editor named John ublishing a newspaper which advocated yers shied from defending Zenger the him were disbarred by their colleagues. w Hamilton of Philadelphia, took Zenger's quittal in the first famous freedom of the y. Judge Medina, meet J. P. Zenger and

voked ?

akes a mockery saintly patience'

ly believe you would join me in saying: "The trial was a monstrosity!"

Was Medina "leaning over backward" on the many occasions when he made statements like these to the defendants and their counsel?

- "You can put that in your pipe and smoke it!"
- "You may object your head off."
- "Well, that sounds crazy; you always seem to do that."

ALIBI FOR MEDINA: From the earliest days of the case Medina and the press prepared an alibi for any pos-

sible charges of judicial prejudice. As presented in the final contempt finding against the defense lawyers, it ran thus: Medina was without prejudice, but "before the trial had progressed very far" he "was reluctantly forced to the conclusion" that defendants and their counsel were conspiring to halt the trial—so he cracked down.

The alibi does not stand up: the record shows that Medina manifested prejudice before the defense could have committed any misconduct. At Page 20 of the pre-trial proceedings he told the defendants:

"That's the way we conduct our judicial proceedings **in this country.**"

And two pages later:

"You will get an **American trial.**"

(One must indeed lean over backward to miss Medina's point: Communist equals Russia—a foreign "enemy" conspiracy.)

WHO WAS IN CONTEMPT: Remember, this was the pre-trial record. It goes back to July, 1948—before Medina was designated as judge, before the defendants had retained the lawyers now sentenced for contempt.

On Aug. 16, 1948, Defense Counsel Unger, who dropped out before the trial began, asked Medina for more time because the case was "difficult and complex."

Page 126 of the record shows this:

Medina: "If the difficulty and complexity has to do with this idea of overthrowing the government by force, I should think that public policy might require that the matter be given prompt attention and not just held off indefinitely when perhaps there may be some more of these fellows up to that sort of thing."

DUET WITH McGOHEY: At pages 130-132 Prosecutor McGohey and Medina held a discussion of freedom of speech and opinion and the need for a quick trial:

Medina: "And if you were to let them do that sort of thing, why, it would destroy the government."

McGohey: "Precisely."

Medina: "And they argue that under the Constitution you can't prevent people from banding together to overthrow the government by force and violence, is that it."

McGohey: "I do not know if they go quite that far, Your Honor. . . . Consideration has to be given, I take it, as to what they teach, and I think we are going to have to allow the jury to determine that. . . ."

Medina: "For example, not involving weasel words that they used . . . isn't there just some play on words there?"

"PATIENCE" A SHAM: Or you can find this on Pages 138-139, where Counsel Unger noted the indictment's lack of any charge of actual force or violence in the Communist Party's 30 years of existence:

Medina: "No, they want to wait until they get everything set and then the acts will come."

The pre-trial and trial records go on endlessly like that. And so, reverend sir, I hope that you will alter your opinion and raise your voice loudly in condemnation of this assault on the First Amendment—which, if this verdict stands, won't be there long to safeguard your voice or mine.

The reaction: study in contrasts

The bold ones proclaim defiance; the timid ones hide in silence

THE American people have now become their own jury to decide whether the Communist trial verdict fits the pattern of our democracy.

First reactions show sharp contrasts: the outraged anger of groups which see the Smith Act prosecution as a direct attack on free speech and thought; the mild, qualified criticism of those who wish to keep their "anti-communist" franchise; the complete silence of fear.

Civil rights groups

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS: "The verdict strikes a deadly parallel with Hitler Germany. The people must speak up now or they will be silenced later."

CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION: "No overt criminal acts were proved. The conviction rests solely on expressions of political opinion. . . . If it [the Smith Act] and the conviction stand, the logical consequence is the outlawry of the Communist Party, a departure from historic American principles. . . . The penalties imposed by the court on the defense lawyers for contempt raise no questions of civil liberties of concern to the ACLU."

Religious groups

PROTESTANT VOICES: The GUARDIAN reached three Protestant clergymen. None would permit his name to be used. "The trial could not have happened in normal times," one said. The second: "It was always my impression that we were guaranteed freedom of conscience under the Constitution. But it looks now as though many Americans, especially the jurors, are not under the same impression." The third hoped the Supreme Court would find the Smith Act unconstitutional.

CATHOLIC VOICES: Three editors of the **Catholic Worker**—Dorothy Day, Irene Naughton and Robert Ludlow: "Although rejecting atheism and materialism in Marxist and bourgeois thought, we respect our Marxist brothers' freedom as a minority group and believe that their rights have been violated. . . . We extend to them our sympathy and admiration for having followed their conscience."

A JEWISH VOICE: Joseph Brainin, executive chairman of the American Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists and Scientists, told the GUARDIAN: "The Peekskill lynch spirit has invaded our courts. As chairman of an anti-fascist Jewish organization, I am deeply concerned with what happened at Foley Square. We know from bitter experience that an atmosphere has now been created in which fascistic principles are presented to the American people as democratic ideas."

A SILENT VOICE: The American Jewish Congress said it would not comment on the "specifics" of the case or the aspect of danger to minorities.

Congressional voice

REP. GEORGE D. SADOWSKI, a Michigan Democrat, Roosevelt New Dealer, Catholic and member of the Polish National Alliance, thought deeply when asked in Washington for comment. Then he told GUARDIAN's John B. Stone:

"I have been afraid for a long time about this anti-red hysteria. It is used to bludgeon not only the Communists, but anyone who stands for anything different from that for which the bludgeoner stands. It might be used against anyone who supported Franklin D. Roosevelt.

"Entirely aside from what the Communists stand for, if a court can make them illegal it can make any party illegal. It might be the Socialists next, or the Progressive Party. It is setting a pattern whereby anyone working next to someone else can pass on gossip and make him lose his job."

Negro voices

W. E. B. Du BOIS, noted historian and author, told the GUARDIAN: "Nothing in my life has so shaken my belief in American democracy as the trial and conviction of the Communist leaders. The trial may have been conducted legally, but if that is so then our whole judicial system is rotten. I can conceive of nothing so unfair and unjust as the conduct of this trial. It marks the nadir of our hysteria and determination to throttle free speech and make honest thinking impossible."

NAACP RELUCTANT: Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, ducked the question, saying: "Dr. Du Bois is strictly left-wing, of course, and has no connection with this organization. We have nothing to say on this question, at least until our board meets."

A free and independent American, 1786

Shays' Rebellion, an uprising against economic injustice, proved to leaders of revolutionary America that the citizens believed in what they had fought for. The blacksmith in the old print is refusing a writ of attachment for debts incurred while he was fighting the British. Today he would be refusing to accept the Foley Square verdict as a violation of his American heritage.

(Continued from Page 5)

COAL AND STEEL

Love in the dumps

GEORGE H. LOVE, chief negotiator for soft coal mine owners, and Thomas Kennedy, UMW vice-president, remained deadlocked. "No progress," said Love.

Said Kennedy: "I wouldn't go that far with George. I think he's in the dumps. We're one day nearer a contract."

WHITE HOUSE STYMIED: President Truman, John R. Steelman, Presidential assistant, and U. S. Conciliator Cyrus Ching were stymied on both coal and steel. Steelman lost his voice in ceaseless telephone calls to "sources familiar with the involvements." Ching, ace mediator, visited fruitlessly with steel executives. Steel strikers walked quietly on their picket lines; they were joined by 16,000 aluminum workers; coal miners stayed quietly away from the pits.

By the weekend Mr. Truman had set the stage for coal intervention. Secretary of Commerce Sawyer had uttered a warning of mass unemployment if the strikes continued; Ford and General Motors had threatened shutdowns because of steel shortages; feelers had been put out on seizing the mines or summoning fact-finders.

LEWIS-GREEN

'Anxious inertia'

EVER since labor's house divided, unity has been a fervent hope for rank-and-filers, a slogan for the labor brass.

Periodically United Mine Workers President John L. Lewis or Philip Murray would ask AFL President William Green for unity. And William Green would always say he is for it—for "organic unity," the generally accepted translation of which is: "Everybody come back into the AFL on AFL terms."

Last week Lewis proposed that his union and the AFL set up a $2,500,000 weekly war chest to aid the steel strikers. It seemed like more than a slogan. CIO's Philip Murray agreed, but, reluctant to take Lewis' bounty, favored extending such aid to all unions that might need it. That would include the miners along with the steel workers as beneficiaries.

HOPELESS FORMULA: Then Green spoke. "Every union chartered by the AFL is clothed with autonomous authority . . . " he informed Lewis. Adding customary honorifics, he referred to the "crying need for a united labor movement . . . a return to the house of labor." Then he packed his bags for a trip to London to help CIO leaders set up an organization that would compete with the World Federation of Trade Unions.

GREEN GETS IT: Lewis had the last word: "Dear Mr. Green: I did not think you would do anything. You didn't. You rarely do. Unfortunately you follow invariably your well-known policy of anxious inertia . . . I note that you are going to Europe. . . . When you adjust it satisfactorily and return to your own country, I may write you again."

WILLIAM GREEN
Oh dear, must I do something?

CIO IN THE WEST

Unburnable Bridges

THREE years ago, national CIO headquarters edged Harry Bridges out as California regional director. It took two men to replace him. One of them was Tim Flynn, a non-California steel worker proud of his loyalty to Philip Murray.

Last week Flynn was busy proving his loyalty in advance of the national CIO convention. He hurried up to Bend, Ore., to tell the Oregon state CIO convention not to support Bridges' fight against government prosecution for alleged conspiracy in obtaining U.S. citizenship. He said the CIO "should stop giving protective cover to agents of foreign powers."

WHO HATES HARRY? The delegates voted down the resolution of support, but only after a bitter floor fight in which Matt Meehan, of Bridges' longshore union, asked Flynn:

"Why has Bridges so many enemies? Is it because while other labor leaders are pussyfooting around about a fourth round wage increases, we in longshore have already had seven increases?"

On other issues the Oregon CIO was more militant: for the Columbia Valley Authority, for a strong civil rights program, for real rent controls.

WHO'S FOR HARRY? In Flynn's territory, the California state convention at San Francisco was boycotted by a dozen right-wing unions. But rank-and-file steel strikers showed up to thank the delegates for their support.

The California CIO backed Bridges and asked "that member unions of the CIO in the State of California expel for life any of their members who are found to be acting as stool pigeons or working with the government to frame up the elected leadership."

Other resolutions of the convention protested the conviction of the Communist Party leaders and called for CIO unity based on internal democracy. Bridges himself asked for unity which wouldn't compromise CIO principles.

FARMER-LABOR

'Your security is ours'

ALL over the Midwest Republicans were talking against farmer-labor unity. Labor, warned GOP congressmen like Rep. Hope of Kansas, was setting a booby trap for farmers; the Brannan Plan was written by the CIO "to enlist the farmer as an ally in carrying out labor's political program. Farmers," said Hope, "are too smart to be caught in a trap like that."

But last week farmer-labor unity, given a big boost this summer, went happily along.

"A LOT IN COMMON": One focal point was the 3,000-strong strike of lead, silver and zinc miners in the Coeur d'Alene region of Idaho, led by the CIO Mine-Mill Union. Farmers in at least three states were contributing truckloads and carloads of food to the strikers.

Mine-Mill was cementing the solidarity with a four-page pamphlet being distributed through Farmers Union channels. The theme: "We Have a Lot In Common." The argument: "Big Business opposes farm price-supports and high parity for you—and higher wages, health and welfare and pensions for us . . . the things that spell security for farmer and worker alike."

PACKINGHOUSE SCHOOL: Further east, in Iowa, the CIO Packinghouse Workers Union held a school to extend its own farmer-labor unity drive. Homer Ayres, executive secretary of the new Midwest Farmer-Labor Alliance, describes it: "Groups went into the country, talking to farmers and giving them literature. . . . Most of the farmers were very much interested in the idea of farmers and labor getting together. 'Should have been done long ago,' many of them said.

"High point of the school was organization of a rousing farmer-labor meeting in the Boone City Hall. It was sponsored by local farmers and the turnout was fine. . . . Several such meetings have already taken place in the Sioux City area, one of which pulled in 200 farmers right in the midst of harvest."

Chicago dateline

Court OKs transit fare hikes; Progressives won't quit fight

By Rod Holmgren

CHICAGO

CHICAGO Progressives won a major victory last week when they persuaded Judge Elmer Schnackenberg to issue a temporary "roll-back" injunction knocking out the 2c trolley and "L" fare increase ordered Oct. 13 by the Chicago Transit Board. Then the victory was snatched away by an appellate court.

The injunction, estimated to save straphangers $40,000 a day, was granted Oct. 17 on a technicality. Harry Booth, special utilities counsel for the Progressives, argued that the increase was put into effect illegally because it was not published 10 days before the effective date as required by the transit law.

THE REVERSAL: However, next day CTA attorneys obtained a writ cancelling the injunction before it became effective. Playing safe, CTA also published the new fare schedule in a daily newspaper.

The Chicago **Daily News,** admitting the contention by Progressives that the original price paid by the city for the transit lines was excessive, declared: "CTA acquired a lot of junk costing more to keep running than it was worth." In the same editorial, the newspaper spoke of "the hive of bilious malcontents calling themselves the Progressives."

Bill Miller, state PP director, said: "This is only the beginning of our fight not only to prevent higher fares from becoming law but to guarantee genuine ownership and management of the Chicago transit system by the people who pay for it—the car riders of Chicago. We are going to continue our efforts in court, in the Legislature, in the City Council, with Mayor Kennelly and with Gov. Stevenson."

Caesar's wife slips

MRS. CLAIRE BUCKLEY, wife of Rep. James Buckley (D-Ill.), owns an apartment building on South Michigan Ave. Not long ago she asked the Chicago rent office to evict one of her tenants, Melvin Stegenga, his wife and two children. She said she needed the apartment for her brother, William Mercier.

Last week it developed that Mrs. Buckley's brother is living comfortably at a hotel. He was surprised to learn that Mrs. Buckley was trying to evict someone to get him an apartment. He listed these errors in her eviction plea: the apartment is too big for him; he doesn't want it; he doesn't want anyone evicted on his account.

From the Chicago rent office, no comment.

Evicting jimcrow

PROGRESSIVES in the little industrial town of Argo, southwest of Chicago, are preparing a test of enforcement of the new Illinois law banning use of state funds for jimcrow schools.

Two years ago the Argo School Board transferred all white children from the public school to another school. That left 166 Negro children in a jimcrow school.

When the State Assembly approved $100,000,000 in school aid last June, Rep. Clarence Jenkins (R-Chicago) slipped in an amendment forbidding funds to any schools which discriminate.

FIGHT JUST STARTING: Florence Gowgiel, Progressive township committeewoman in Argo and member of the Illinois Civil Rights Congress, led a delegation of parents to Cook County Superintendent Edward B. Simon last week. Simon listened, then asked the delegation to obtain a dozen affidavits.

Arthur G. Price, CRC executive secretary, said the Argo case is only the first of many to be taken up in a statewide campaign to end school segregation. Price announced plans for a state convention Nov. 12 to discuss enforcement of the Jenkins amendment.

HEALTH

DONORA, PA.

Foul & filthy

ON Oct. 27, 1948, a heavy blanket of fog settled over Donora, Pa. When it lifted five days later, 20 people were dead and 5,910—43% of the town's population—were ill. Mystery and tragedy brought Donora into the headlines across the nation.

On Oct. 13, 1949, the U.S. Public Health Service issued its report—largely ignored by the press. It found that Donora citizens daily breathe 2,898,000 pounds of soot, carbon monoxide and carbon dioxide from the chimneys of the American Steel & Wire Co. plant. Held close to the ground by fog, Donora air becomes dangerous and is called smog. In April, 1945, there were almost twice as many deaths in the town as in any ordinary month. It must have been smog then too, said the report.

The Health Service recommended that plants close when fog settles over the town. Then it asked Congress for $250,000 to carry on its work.

THE WORLD

CHINA

Canton falls; gin drinkers wonder

IN 1927 British gunboats helped crush the three-day-old Canton Commune in rivers of blood. Only a handful of Communist workers and soldiers, led by Chu Teh, a Kuomintang general turned Communist, escaped the mass slaughter to fight their way to the Kiangsi mountains where they became the nucleus of the Red Army.

Chu Teh's soldiers returned to Canton last week. Cheering students and workers, with huge portraits of the Commander-in-Chief of the new Republic's armed forces and of its President Mao Tse-tung, greeted the Liberation Army. "Canton Is Placed Under Red Regime, Transition Calm," headlined the N.Y. **Times.**

GIN WON'T HELP: A few miles north of Hong Kong island, Britain's 391-sq.-mile Far East bastion, Liberation Army units stopped at the colony's backyard fence on the mainland, known as the Gin Drinkers Line. In Hong Kong Britain had concentrated 30,000 troops. On the border the atmosphere was friendly. A Chinese soldier cheerily posed side by side with a Hong Kong policeman.

In London, government leaders talked grandiosely of defending their "rights" to this richest rock in the world. The London **Daily Mail** invented a race of "Hongkongese" to be defended by Britain from the onrushing Chinese Republic.

Commander Edgar P. Young, former Labor MP once on the staff of the British Commander-in-Chief, China Station, wrote to the GUARDIAN: "British Defense Minister A. V. Alexander, who loves to imitate Winston Churchill's mannerisms to the point of making himself ridiculous, has carried his imitation a step further by pretending Hong Kong could be held. When one Japanese division attacked Hong Kong on Dec. 9, 1941, the British position on the mainland was untenable in 24 hours and the island capitulated in two weeks. The Chinese Liberation Army could, if it wanted, blockade the colony from the mainland and paralyze it by calling on its Chinese population (over 99% of the total) to adopt passive resistance. The Chinese Liberation Army has not been scared off by what it calls 'paper tigers'; it cannot be scared off by a paper lion."

French front

In Paris the Chinese Embassy and Consulate staffs including Minister Lin Chi-man had gone over to the new government. Stanley Karnow dropped in at the Embassy on Avenue Georges V and sat in the little ante-chamber cluttered with teakwood. Embassy Counsellor George Mong was polite but hesitant until Karnow identified himself as from the GUARDIAN.

Then he leaped to his feet. "Enchanté, m'sieur," he said, "enchanté."

Karnow asked about Chiang's flag which still waved outside the building. "The flag," explained Mong, "is a sort of symbol of our position. You might say we are cohabiting with the Nationalists. We are not demanding recognition. We are just existing. We are not preventing the Nationalist government from doing its business here. We are trying to make as little trouble as possible."

FRANCE

Canard Enchaine, Paris

"Disciple of Marx?"
"Yes, Groucho."

Who'll buy this mess?

AFTER three days of trying to form a cabinet, Socialist Jules Moch gave up. For the 11th time since the end of the war, France was without a government; but Moch would for the rest of his life have the honor of being addressed as "Monsieur le Premier."

President Vincent Auriol next turned to the Popular Republican Movement (MRP) which had frustrated Moch's efforts. But the MRP itself did not feel up to it. Former Premier Henri Queuille also declined. The choice next fell on Rene Mayer of the Radical Socialists (neither radical nor socialist but somewhat right of center). He accepted, and on Thursday won the Assembly's approval on the basis of a program virtually identical with Moch's.

The newspaper **Liberation** commented: "What a Premier needs is a double vote of confidence: one from the White House and another from the National Assembly. Both obtained, it remains . . . to form a government which practises American politics in a French disguise."

Mayer is related to the Rothschilds and once headed their French bank. He was also once head of Air France and the French railroads and served in three post-war cabinets. Beyond that, few people outside France knew very much about him. Fewer thought it mattered. The odds were that even if he should form a cabinet, he would not last long. In the offing was a general election, seemingly inevitable in the chaos of French politics.

GREECE

Fall lull

EVERY year since the civil war in Greece began, fighting has stopped early in September. Every fall the U.S., Britain and the Greek Royalists they support with arms and money have announced: Mission accomplished, rebels defeated.

Last week Secretary of State Acheson said the war was practically over; reduction in U.S. aid to Athens, he added, was a logical next step. Athens promptly protested.

"STOP THE SLAUGHTER": On Oct. 16 the Free Greeks broadcast a cease-fire order, in effect making the winter stalemate official. The order was widely interpreted as signifying the Free Greeks' final defeat. But in fact no one here could give an accurate picture of the military situation, nor predict future developments in a country where violent repression and starvation make the majority of the people permanently hostile to the Royalists.

Timed for the opening of the UN General Assembly in New York, the Free Greek proclamation said their army was still intact. It had "lowered its arms temporarily . . . to stop the slaughter and save Greece from total annihilation." Nevertheless guerrilla fighting was reported continuing in areas throughout the country except in the northern mountains.

Free Greece admitted retreat, blaming the "material superiority" furnished by the U.S. and the "treason of Tito." Yugoslavia, continuing to deny Free Greek charges that it had attacked them, accused the Soviet Union of selling them out.

DIPLOMATIC FRONT: The cease-fire order indicated that Free Greece looked to the diplomatic front for a peaceful settlement. Terms for such a settlement, paralleling the Free Greeks' own—general amnesty and free elections guaranteed by the powers including the U.S.S.R.—were advanced last May by Russia's Andrei Gromyko. Last week Andrei Vishinsky in New York renewed the proposals as a basis for any settlement.

BRITAIN

Scuttle for Socialists and pickle for Tories

BRITAIN'S Labor government has frozen wages, devalued the pound, invoked grimmer and grimmer austerity—all, it was said, for the sake of the social program. Last week the realization grew that they would have to make the choice between the cold war and social gains. Indications were that the social gains would go.

The cabinet was concocting new economies to offset devaluation. It proposed to slash funds for schools, hospitals and social services, cut imports, tighten the wage freeze. Trade union leaders and rebellious Labor MP's

(Continued on following page)

Jennings Perry

But are the butter and oil on Nehru's table?

THE words spoken to us in Washington and New York by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru suggest the possibility that in the ancient wisdom of the new, sovereign India our insatiable policy of world division may have met the immovable object. India, he insists to our face, will remain aloof, seeking to work out the destiny of her millions "not by talking and preparing for war" but by not compromising with "evil and injustice."

The Shah of Iran is coming next; and Lowell Thomas is just back from Tibet with a report that the world-forgetting lamas might welcome our military mission when it is through in Greece. But Iran, already a link in our cordon sanitaire, is small potatoes; and Shangri La would be merely an adornment on our battlements.

What our general staff wants is vast India for a massive roadblock against the tide of revolution in Asia. It would be aggravating if — as Nehru suggests — India refused to see that America's first line of defense now runs along the crest of the Himalayas.

MR. NEHRU meets our importunities with philosophical rejoinders, pointing to the lesson of history that "the very process of marshaling of the world into two hostile camps precipitates the conflict which it is sought to avoid." Later, he tells us that while his country needs much and desires much of us, our wealth and property impress him less than "the background of freedom that this country has."

These words, to borrow a phrase from the psalmist, sound smoother than butter and softer than oil to the ears of millions of Americans, who resent — as this disciple of the Mahatma says he does too — the demand that all people choose sides and gnash their teeth at each other whether they feel hatred or not. Nehru's expression of stubborn neutrality reproaches our major premise that there is no room for dispassionate onlookers in the world as we have cleft it.

BUTTER and oil are good; but they are better on the table than packed away as "surplus" in warehouses, caves and derelict merchantmen.

It was a sad moment when, at a United Nations reception where Pandit Nehru called for capitalism and Marxism to be soberly judged on the basis of which "delivered the goods," a correspondent asked him about civil liberties in India. Our visitor replied that "widespread communal riots" following the partition of India had necessiated an "abnormal" policy of arrest and conviction. His own administration has compromised with evil and injustice at home: its repressive acts, which amount to an internal cold war, are a matter of blushful record.

NEHRU
Friendly faces

Whether India can follow the mediating external course Nehru outlines while cramming its jails with native thinkers of dangerous thoughts is a question one may legitimately ask. Whether his words here have — as some editorialists, taking them at face value, suggest — offended the Washington warriors who surrounded him with pomp and honors, is also a question. Weighing his foreign-policy words against his domestic - policy actions, Washington may well retain cynical confidence that the disciple of Gandhi is their man in the showdown.

YET the cynic may not have the last word; for Mr. Nehru's every word at Lake Success or in the Savoy Plaza is watched by the people of India, and he is too wise in politics to ignore entirely the deep currents of feeling in his country.

Not only in old India, but in this young land also, the millions understand the folly of forcing hatred and formalizing conflict in portentous military alliances.

"The people looked at me," said our visitor, "with friendly eyes and friendly faces." He would be quite right in assuming that these faces reflect a wistful admiration for his words of peace. The butter and oil may prove to be only surplus and not for the table. But at least it sounds good to hear the leader of a "friendly" nation speak without the brittle ill-nature characteristic of Western leaders' foreign-policy orations in our time.

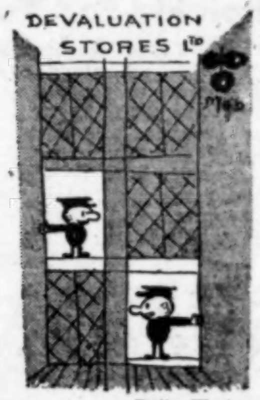
Looking for gift ideas?

You might give hubby a bust of himself, with removable gold-rimmed glasses, like the one Ernest Durig (above) gave to President Truman. Or a motor scooter, like the one at right which its inventor gave to Pope Pius XII.

(Continued from preceding page)

listened coldly to Clement Attlee, suggested that he seek the answer in his $2,240,000,000 defense budget instead.

PEACE WEEKEND: GUARDIAN's Gordon Schaffer reported that the ensuing uproar was a "big stimulant to public feeling on the peace issue." Delegates flocked into London for a week-end working conference on peace.



Daily Worker, London

"Going up—food, raw materials, cost of living and unemployment."
"Going down—social services and real wages."

Bi-partisan pickle

The Conservatives, Schaffer said, were in no less of a pickle. Behind last week's party conclave, disappointed by lack of an immediate election, was a serious split between Winston Churchill's pro-Americans and an anti-U.S. bloc. All were agreed on the cold war and taking the cost of it out of the hides of workers.

But, Schaffer reported: "A section of the Tory Party which fears the Churchill concentration on Europe realizes that the program of American investments agreed to at Washington is a much more dangerous threat to them than the Communists."

BELISHA'S BEACON: Leslie Hore-Belisha wanted to create an "Empire Third Force" stronger than Russia or America. Many recalled Hore-Belisha's 1934 feat as Transport Minister; the erection of thousands of gaudy posts, topped by globes of orange-hued glass, designed to save lives at pedestrian crossings. Called "Belisha's Beacons" (some called him the "Archbeacon") they were ridiculed as one of Britain's biggest jokes. The feeling now is that the "Empire Third Force" is another Belisha Beacon.

Like this issue? Pass it on a friend. He'll like it too.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Vatican politics

THE political arm of the Roman Catholic Church has long held, in effect, that priests should be loyal only to the Vatican, no matter where they are stationed. In compromises with all types of government from right to center, the Vatican has shown itself a master; but in the new socialist states of eastern Europe the principle has led to explosive controversy.

The Czechoslovak Parliament last week solved its political problem with Catholicism in its own way: by passing laws providing government subsidies to the church, guaranteeing religious freedom, penalizing the misuse of religion for political purposes harmful to the state.

A number of Catholic priests attended Prague ceremonies inaugurating the new relationship. The Vatican called them "Judases."

Reports of wholesale arrests in Czechoslovakia continued to flood U.S. newspapers, without substantiation from Prague. However, the Official Gazette made it clear that "unreliables" were being weeded out of key positions.

GERMANY

"You're Asiatic!"

THREE items of varying datelines seemed to sum up Germany last week:

U.S. ZONE: Ilse Koch, mistress of Buchenwald, who fancied lampshades of human skin, was set free by U.S. authorities. Gen. Lucius Clay had commuted her life sentence to four years. No sooner freed by the U.S., she was jailed by the Germans for trial next year as a war criminal.

BRITISH ZONE: Barrister R. T. Paget, Labor MP, opened the defense of Field Marshal von Mannstein, charged with wartime barbarities in the Soviet Union. By way of condoning his client's massacres of civilians, the barrister said: "Russians have no understanding of the proper conduct of war. They have the Asiatic system."

RUSSIAN ZONE: Joseph Stalin said the new East German Republic, ridiculed as "another puppet" by Western authorities, could become "a cornerstone for a unified, democratic, peace-loving Germany." Russia and a free Germany working together, said Stalin, could make "impossible the servitude of European countries under world imperialists." An exchange of diplomats between the two countries was followed by talk of an early evacuation of Soviet troops and possible signing of a peace treaty.

ILSE KOCH
The lampshade business is bad

United Nations Special

Yugoslav election to the Council widens the East-West cleavage

Guardian UN Correspondence

FLUSHING MEADOW

THE big development of last week was the election of Yugoslavia to a seat on the Security Council. Inside and outside UN meeting halls the hardest-worked phrase was "Gentlemen's Agreement"—the agreement implicit in Article 23 of the Charter, which speaks of "due regard being paid . . . to equitable geographical distribution." The Gentlemen's Agreement is that members of the regional blocs select and back one candidate, and that other members recognize their choice.

NON-TECHNICAL APPLAUSE: When Yugoslavia announced its candidacy for the Security Council seat formerly held by the Ukraine, Britain said it would support Czechoslovakia, the Slavic countries' official choice. When Yugoslavia was elected on Thursday, Britani's Hector McNeil applauded heartily. In short, when Britain stuck to the terms of the Gentlemen's Agreement its reasons were purely technical.

Secretary of State Acheson at his press conference last week admitted such an agreement existed, but said there was no reason why it should be perpetuated. The British want the agreement to last, otherwise anyone could oppose the candidate backed by the British Commonwealth of Nations.

VISHINSKY'S PLAIN TALK: Yugoslavia's decision to run against Czechoslovakia, as an open gesture of defiance to the Soviets, was not welcomed at UN. But because of the short-range decision of the U.S. to support Yugoslavia—a state denounced by the U.S.S.R. as traitorous to socialism—many nations, particularly Latin America and the Arabs, decided to go along.

The Soviets considered this question so important that Foreign Minister Vishinsky held a press conference on the subject—his second press conference in two years. He told newsmen that a vote for Yugoslavia would constitute a violation of Article 23 of the Charter.

Right before the Security Council elections took place, he said again that "the Gentlemen's Agreement must prevail among gentlemen." And immediately after Yugoslavia was elected on the second ballot, 39 to 19, Vishinsky managed to say — while Assembly President Romulo tried to stop him—that "Yugoslavia is not, cannot, and will not be considered as a representative of the Eastern European countries; and the introduction of Yugoslavia to the Security Council will be considered by the Soviet Union's delegation as a new violation of the Charter, undermining the very foundations of cooperation in the UN."

The Polish delegation issued a statement in the same sense, adding that since Yugoslavia had not been the candidate selected by the region to which Poland belongs, this region "has been deprived of its representation among the non-permanent members of the Security Council."

AGREEMENTS WRECKED: Hints that the Soviets would in the future boycott the Security Council may be discarded. In practice, they can express disapproval of Yugoslavia's presence in the Council either by vetoing Yugoslav proposals, or by considering illegal any decision in which Yugoslavia's single vote ensures a majority to the other side.

From the political viewpoint Yugoslavia's gesture has, for the time being, wrecked any chances for this Assembly to ease the tension between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. All nations think it essential for these two powers possessing atom bombs to reach an agreement on atomic control and disarmament.

ANTAGONISM PREFERRED: If the Americans had not supported Yugoslavia's candidacy, the Soviet Union would feel the U.S. really wanted to end the cold war.

But the U.S. and other nations' support of Yugoslavia constitutes more than a mere breach of a Gentlemen's Agreement. It is a clear indication to the world that these countries prefer to antagonize the Soviets at UN rather than seek permanent peace.

DOLLAR STRETCHER

This week Dollar Stretcher reports on products tested by Consumers Union, publisher of "Consumers Reports," 38 E. First St., New York 3, N. Y.

Across-the-top refrigerators

CONSUMERS Union tested nine refrigerators with freezing compartments occupying the entire top of the cabinet. The three which rated highest had cold wall construction (cooling coils imbedded in the walls of the food chamber). The main advantage is that food may be left uncovered without drying out or wilting. However, operating costs are higher than with conventional refrigerators. In recent tests of standard refrigerators, four came out together at the top, meeting all performance requirements and promising better-than-average economy of operation. They were the Frigidaire ML-77, $224.75 (7.7 cu. ft. cap.); General Electric NB8-E, $229.75 (8.1 cu. ft.); Westinghouse S-7-49, $229.95 (7 cu. ft.) and Sears Coldspot, $199.95 plus shipping (7.3 cu. ft.).

Rated highest among nine across-the-top refrigerators were: General Electric NH8-F coldwall, $399.75; Frigidaire IL-100 coldwall, $449.75; and Admiral 749 coldwall, $394.95. All prices are list.

Men's shirts

TESTS of 80 men's white broadcloth shirts with soft and fused (semi-stiff when ironed) collars disclosed that while price is no sure guide, high-quality shirts cost $3.95 or more. However, three shirts at $2.95 or less rated high enough to warrant mention: Alden's Aldencrest with soft collar; Sear's Pilgrim with fused collar; Schulte's Leeds Lifewear with fused collar.

Among best acceptable shirts with soft collars were Van Heusen, $4.95 (multi-ply collar); Macy Associates' Supre-macy, $3.98. Among the best shirts with fused collars were Penney Towncraft Deluxe, $3.98; Arrow, $4.50; Sear's Pilgrim $3.65 plus postage; and Manhattan, $4.50.

How to store frozen foods

FROZEN foods should be kept in the original sealed package until final thawing. They need not be placed in the freezing compartment if eaten on the day of purchase, but may be kept anywhere in the refrigerator. It is probably better to let a frozen roast thaw gradually. Though packers repeatedly warn against re-freezing thawed foods, this can be safely undertaken if the food has not been thawed for more than a few hours and has not reached a temperature of more than 40 degrees Fahrenheit.

To prevent deterioration of frozen foods while defrosting a refrigerator, defrost as rapidly as possible. This is best done by turning off the refrigerator, piling the frozen foods together in the main storage compartment and filling the ice trays with hot water. The frozen foods should be replaced in the freezer as soon as defrosting is completed.

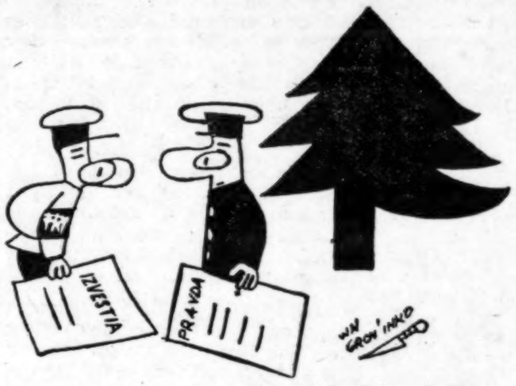
By Frederick L. Schuman

Portrait of Stalin as a human person

ON Dec. 21 the "man of steel" who is Pontifex Maximus of communism and the anti-communist's Devil Incarnate will celebrate his 70th birthday—probably with little fanfare if precedent is followed.

No potentate of the 20th century has come from humbler origins. None has risen to dizzier heights. None has evoked more love and hatred nor has any other, through purely political leadership, affected more profoundly—for evil and for good—the destinies of more human beings.

His father, born a serf, was a cobbler. His mother was a washerwoman. Joseph Vissarionovich Djugashvili, known successively as "Soselo," "Soso," "Koba," and "Stalin," was trained for the priesthood. His youth is a tale of adventures so hair-raising and fantastic as to be unacceptable in a Hollywood scenario. His manhood is a bitter "success story" of gargantuan proportions. In his age, he is ruler of half the world.



Canard Enchaine, Paris

"Seems that the Americans have the atom bomb too!"

UNVENOMOUS "EX": Such a life, it might be supposed, would by now have inspired a score of biographies. In fact, there has been none worthy of the name. Souvarine's book is an accusation, Trotsky's an exercise in misunderstanding, and Bertram Wolfe's sketch only a fragment of a larger work. All are indictments, not explanations.

All the more astonishing and welcome, therefore, is **Stalin: A Political Biography**, by Isaac Deutscher (Oxford Univ. Press, 600 pp. $5). The author, now a Britisher, is of Polish origin. He has studied and ordered all the available materials, in Russian and other languages, and applied to them reportorial, analytical, and literary talents of extraordinary power and brilliance.

What is more remarkable, here is an ex-Communist who does not earn his living by confessing his past sins and does not soothe his soul by spitting venom at the erstwhile object of his adoration. Deutscher sets himself the task of understanding Stalin, not praising or denouncing him.

POLITICAL HUMAN: Communists will damn this work, since the portrait bears no resemblance to the Super-man of Soviet idolatry. Professional anti-communists will also condemn it, since its subject is not portrayed as anti-Christ or Beelzebub.

Deutscher's subtitle is due, he says, to the impossibility of writing a "private" biography of Stalin. On the few occasions when he comments on Stalin's family life, his conclusions are unsubstantiated and probably untrue. But the public career is here, with full documentation and a wealth of detail. Out of these pages Stalin emerges, intelligibly, as a Man and Statesman—not as a paragon of virtue or a disciple of Satan, but as a human person and a political leader who learned, painfully, how to ride the whirlwind.

TASK OF HISTORY: No summary and no excerpts can do justice to this volume. But the flavor of the whole and the quality of the final evaluation may be suggested in Deutscher's own words:

"Hitler was the leader of a sterile counter-revolution, while Stalin has been both the leader and exploiter of a tragic, self-contradictory but creative revolution. Like Cromwell, Robespierre, and Napoleon he started as the servant of an insurgent people and made himself its master....

"The better part of Stalin's work is as certain to outlast Stalin himself as the better parts of the work of Cromwell and Napoleon have outlasted them. But in order to save it for the future and to give to it its full value, history may yet have to cleanse and reshape Stalin's work as sternly as it once cleansed and reshaped the work of the English revolution after Cromwell and of the French after Napoleon."

Calendar for Progressives

NEW YORK

Marcantonio Rally, Mon., Oct. 24, 7:30 p.m., Madison Sq. Garden. Marc, Wallace, Paul Robeson and ALP candidates from all boroughs. Tickets 50c to $2.40. 13 Astor Pl., OR 3-6178; all ALP clubs; Book Fair, 133 W. 44th St.

•

"In Defense of Dignity" meeting, 8:15 p.m. Thurs., Oct. 27, at St. Nicholas Arena, 69 W. 66th St. O. John Rogge, Clifford Odets, Arthur Miller, W. E. B. Du Bois among many prominent speakers. Tickets 60c and $1.20. ASP, 49 W. 44th St., MU 7-1261.

•

"Make Marc Mayor" dinner dance with old fashioned melodrama sponsored by Greenwich Village ALP Sun., Oct. 30, 6 p.m., at Old Knickerbocker Music Hall, 54th St. and 2d Av. Ewart Guinier, guest of honor. $3.50 per plate. ALP, 28 Greenwich Av., OR 5-0822.

•

Rare documentaries from all over the world now exhibited by World Documentary Theater at Barbizon Plaza, 101 W. 58th St.. Programs include all-Negro health film (U.S.), color cartoon on atom (Czechoslovakia), examination of public opinion (Britain), life on a co-op farm (Russia). Films shown Oct. 25, 26, 27; Nov. 29, 30; Dec. 1, 27, 28, 29. Contact World Documentary, Inc., 18 W. 55th St. JU 6-3376.

•

NEW JERSEY

Henry Wallace speaks for James Imbrie for governor at Progressive Party election rally Fri., Oct. 28, Mosque Theater, 1020 Broad St., Newark. Shirley Graham, Pete Seeger, Paul Draper, Rev. Harry Pine will appear. Tickets at PP office, 264 15th Av., Newark, MArket 3-9180 from 60c to $2.40.

•

CHICAGO

International Festival and Rally sponsored by Midwest Comm. for Protection of Foreign Born Fri., Oct. 28, 8 p.m. International chorus, songs and dances, dramatic skit featured with prominent speakers. People's Auditorium, 2457 W. Chicago Av.

Berman S.O.S.

Averill Berman is the only liberal, pro-labor commentator in Southern California. For two and a half years, contributions from labor and civic organizations have kept him on the air. Now the Los Angeles Radio Committee, his sponsors, will have to cancel his air time unless they receive immediate financial assistance.

Currently, Averill Berman may be heard Mon. through Fri. at 8:15 p.m. on station KGFJ in Los Angeles. How much longer he will be heard depends on the contributions sent to the Los Angeles Radio Committee, 115 Seventh St., Los Angeles 14, Calif. This is a non-profit organization.

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Pots & Pocketbooks

Jarring bit of news

By Charlotte Parks

"NOW, if ever, come perfect days," said Lowell. The markets are full of bargains in fruits and vegetables, and the days are cool enough to enjoy a few happy hours in canning and preserving. The creative artist in you has its chance. Is there a prettier sight than a jar of fruit of your own preserving?

THE REAL SPIRIT: Keep Christmas in mind and save your fancy containers, such as cold cream jars, or pick up pretty bits of glass or pottery. Fill them with your specialties—something that is to be bought only in the top-drawer luxury food shops. These are appropriate gifts for rich or poor—and a real part of your thought and love goes with them.

Plum conserve

1 qt. Damson plums
3 cups sugar
1 lb. seedless raisins
1 lemon (Juice and grated rind)
1 cup English walnuts

Pit plums, add other ingredients, except nuts which should be cut in small pieces and added the last thing. Cook till thick. Pour into jars and cover with melted parafine.

Pickled crabapples

2 lb. crabapples
cover with water
6 cloves
1½ cups sugar

Cook till tender. Measure the liquid and add half the amount of vinegar. Bring to boil and seal in gem jars.

Tomato jam

2 qts. baby tomatoes
2 qts. sugar
6 cloves

Cook till thick and cover with parafine.

Muskmelon pickles

Peel melons and remove seeds. Cut in cubes. Add ½ thinly sliced lemon to each cup of cubes. Cook till lemon is tender. Add ½ the amount of vinegar to the remaining liquid. Barely cover the uncooked fruit with water. Bring to boil and bottle. You may add a sliver or so of mild red pepper for color effect. Melons that are a little too hard for the table may be used.

What's happened to the CIO?

Left fights a split to the end but Murray's on the Bevin road

By C. W. Fowler

(Third and last in a series)

been deprived of the right to

WHEN the CIO convention meets next week in Cleveland, the stage will be elaborately set for a battle over "ideologies." Philip Murray, Walter Reuther and James Carey are ready to mount white horses and give a public display of driving out the reds by bell, duesbook and candle for good and sanctified reasons.

Whether the top leadership's action against CIO's minority unions takes the form of outright expulsion or the appointment of "administrators" matters little. Murray is determined to try to amputate CIO's left arm in an attempt to reduce its leaders and its unions to the level of yes-men.

GALLOPING CRISIS: The highly publicized to-do over "reds" hides another motive. CIO today faces its most serious crisis. The nation's biggest employers are in a concerted drive to destroy militant unionism. The galloping economic depression confronts all labor with the threat of mass unemployment and the destruction of its painfully won gains of the past 15 years.

Instead of uniting all CIO to meet this situation, the dominant leadership has announced it will tear CIO apart—by suppressing dissent, by crushing unions whose members disagree with official CIO policies.

ERNIE DID IT: Also behind the outcry over alleged reds lies a ruthless drive for power—the kind of power that comes from a well-oiled machine whose members have been deprived of protest.

There are precedent and example for this. Trade union machines have existed for decades in the U.S. True, the membership suffered neglect and betrayal, but the rewards for those on top were rich. In England, trade union bureaucrats have risen to the highest places. Britain's Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin is a compelling example. Bevin got where he is today by first building a union machine where Bevin, and not democracy, ruled.

"THE REDS DID IT": Of necessity, the top leaders of CIO will try to pin the blame for any division on their critics. The failure of national CIO to repeal Taft-Hartley, the official retreat on wages, the concurrence with the cold war and, above all, the raiding and disruption within CIO will be loudly blamed on the left. These are the tactics already in effect.

Mindful of the extreme danger to the whole labor movement, the minority CIO unions go into the convention determined to prevent, if at all possible, a split in CIO ranks.

A SACRED HERITAGE: This is not unity or peace at any price. The minority will uphold basic trade union principles, even as they battle to prevent a breach. To do anything else would be suicide. Surrender of principle is not on their minds.

Even if they did surrender, there's nothing they could buy. Power drives don't stop just because the target cries mercy. For the minority unions to back down on stated principles now would simply hasten their destruction, and also sell out everything they stand for in the minds of the rank and file.

This is not the kind of unity the progressives in CIO are after. They want, and will fight for, unity in CIO around basic issues—wages, hours, conditions and resistance to the employers' offensive.

THE TRUE STORY: Today's cry of "Kremlin" comes poorly on the lips of CIO leaders, for the fact remains that Communists and other left-wing-minded people did much of the work and sacrifice in building the early CIO.

Communists by the score acted as organizers, directors, builders of Murray's Steelworkers Union, as they did in the others. Communists, non-communists and those without any political trend at all were able to unite successfully then when CIO had to be built. It could be done now—if national CIO would return to its founding principles.

Whatever happens at Cleveland and after—whether the minority is thrown out, forced to go its own way or put completely on the defensive—the problems of the workers will remain.

THE ISSUE IS DEEP: Red-baiting and disruption have never yet solved the problems of the working man. Least of all will they solve the problems of men and women in the unions whose leaders make a career of red-baiting.

The 11th CIO convention will affect not only the future of CIO but of all America. This is no mere contest between left wing and right wing. It is deeper than that.

The issue, of course, will not be decided in a week at Cleveland. It will be decided in months and even years to come—by the rank and file and their reaction to the pressure of events.

"It's from the electrical workers union, Congressman."

20 years after the Crash: a lesson unlearned

By Tabitha Petran

AMBULANCES clanged on their way to Wall St. Here a broker shot himself; there one leaped from his office window. Crowds gathered in Broad St. On the floor of the Exchange men scrambled in panic.

It was New York, Oct. 24, 1929, the day of the great stock market crash.

On Oct. 24, 1949, no brokers plunged from windows. But not every depression is dramatized with the wail of an ambulance siren. And the lessons of the 1929-33 depression are relevant today.

The New York Times Company.

...AY, OCTOBER 25, 1929. TWO CENTS

WORST STOCK CRASH STEMMED BY BANKS; 12,894,650-SHARE DAY SWAMPS MARKET; LEADERS CONFER, FIND CONDITIONS SOUND

FINANCIERS EASE TENSION

Five Wall Street Bankers

Wall Street Optimistic After Stormy Day; Clerical Work May Force Holiday Tomorrow

Confidence in the soundness of the stock market structure, notwithstanding the upheaval of the last few days, was voiced last night ... financial leaders.

LOSSES RECOVERED IN PART

Upward Trend Starts

PAGE ONE OF THE NEW YORK TIMES, OCT. 25, 1929

THE Great Depression was three months old when the market crashed. But no one acknowledged its existence. Production started down in July, 1929, but confidence remained high throughout the summer and fall. The "New Capitalism" had "abolished depressions." In the words of the Boston businessman, Edward A. Filene, it had "made a reality what the socialists dreamed of."

A day after the crash, President Herbert Hoover declared: "The fundamental business of the country—that is, production and distribution of commodities—is on a sound basis." Not until six months later did the Governor of the Federal Reserve Board admit that the country was in "what appears to be a business depression."

- *Depressions don't develop overnight.*

Industrial production dropped 16% in the eight months after July, 1929, the peak of the boom. It dropped 17% in the eight months after the peak of the post-World-War-II boom in November, 1948. But government officials today, as 20 years ago, won't admit a depression is under way. Secretary of Commerce Sawyer, for example, last June found the economy "in superb condition."

- *Economic crises develop unevenly.*

A League of Nations report said in 1931: "At the turn of the year [1930] there was a tendency in business and financial circles, particularly in the U. S. . . . to assume the depression would be of short duration. In the spring . . . there was even an improvement [in production] in the U. S. which went beyond normal seasonal improvement."

The 1930 spring upturn brought a rash of happy assurances. Hoover said on March 7: "The worst effects of the crash upon employment will have passed during the next 60 days."

The 1949 upturn, which began in August, was similarly hailed. Secretary Sawyer in September said "our economic advance" would continue.

But the N. Y. **Times** recently characterized the upturn as "a minor movement upward in a business decline." Last week it predicted "a continuation of the recession."

- *Refusal of government, business—and even labor leaders—to recognize a crisis doesn't prevent its further development.*

In the spring of 1929, Hoover's Economic Commission reported the country headed for new heights of prosperity, although economic indicators even then spelled trouble. Labor's share of the national income was at a low point in U. S. history and the gap between production and consumption was widening sharply. Hoover did nothing until December, 1929.

Then, he called together 400 businessmen to form a permanent organization to "stabilize business." After pledging not to cut wages, they promptly did so. In 1931 Walter Lippmann castigated the Administration for fostering "the curious illusion" that it "had managed to maintain wages," and labor leaders for acting "as if they believed it."

In January, 1949, the President's Council of Economic Advisers reported the nation headed for greater prosperity, completely ignoring the developing crisis. The Truman Administration did nothing until July.

Then, its Mid-Year Economic Report came out against wage increases. The steel fact-finding board decision implemented the wage freeze policy. Right-wing CIO leaders, like their AFL counterparts 20 years ago, act as if they believed official hocus pocus that wage increases are dangerous.

- *The gap between purchasing power and production capacity of industry today is widening. Consumer prices, remaining rigid and high, are only 3% below last year. Speedup unemployment and partial unemployment are cutting purchasing power. Real wages have been cut 15% since the war and labor's share of the national income has dropped almost to the critical low of 1929.*

The major factor in the post-war boom was business spending for new plant and equipment. Investment in new plant and equipment in the fourth quarter of 1949 will be 21% below 1948. Business is now putting in mainly labor cost-cutting machinery, thus adding to unemployment.

Our economy is richer today than in 1929; if a depression is allowed to come, the fall will be harder.

RAY C THOMAS
1758 S 13TH ST
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2-26